

A MEMORIAL OF THE MARTYRED LOVEJOY :

IN A DISCOURSE BY REV. DAVID ROOT.

Delivered in Dover, N. H. — Published by Request.

ACTS VIII. 2.

"And" they "made great lamentation over him."

"And devout men carried Stephen to his burial and made great lamentation over him."

My Christian brethren and fellow-citizens, an occasion of rare and affecting interest has summoned us in solemn convocation this evening. Not merely that a fellow man has expired, not merely that a Christian has departed, not merely that a beloved brother minister of the Gospel has gone to his rest; but that an American citizen, in the exercise of his rights, rights guaranteed to him by God and the constitution of his country, has fallen by the hand of violence, "fallen by the fury of a free people murdering in defence of slavery," fallen a martyr in support of principles dear to every Christian, every American bosom.

Yes, Lovejoy is no more. That beloved brother, that champion of liberty, that Christian hero, that uncompromising friend of the defenceless, down-trodden slave, whose movements in the cause of the oppressed for the last six months we have contemplated with admiration, has been sacrificed, by wicked hands, upon the altar of his country's liberty, in bearing testimony to the truth, and his name is henceforth to be enrolled upon the calender of Christian martyrs.

Brethren and friends, while with grief of heart, we drop the tear of sorrow upon the grave of our departed brother, thus early fallen by the wrath of his enemies, a martyr to his Christian firmness in the cause of God and man, let us remember, for our consolation, that the Lord reigns, and that "the wrath of man shall praise him and the remainder of that wrath will he restrain."

Brother Lovejoy, whose lov'd memory we would henceforth embalm in our hearts, was a New-England man, and as we have been informed, a native of Albion, Kennebec County, Maine. His Rev. Brother is, at this time, the settled minister of Orono, Maine. And there too, or in that region, reside his afflicted mother and sisters.

Elijah P. Lovejoy, the subject of our present contemplation, was graduated at Waterville College in 1828. He afterwards practiced law at St. Louis, and was Editor of a political paper there. At that time, it seems, his sentiments were highly sceptical. But being converted to the Christian faith and hope, by the instrumentality of Dr. Nelson, during a revival of religion in that place, he conferred not with flesh and blood, but devoted himself to the work of the ministry, after having spent some time at Princeton in preparatory studies. He was subsequently employed as an Agent for the Sunday School Union, which station he occupied

with eminent success, and the entire approbation of the Society." "By common consent, he was selected as the proper person to conduct a religious paper at St. Louis. The duties of an Editor he discharged with much talent and faithfulness." His benevolent spirit, his firmness and decision of character, his self-devotion to truth and righteousness, early and greatly endeared him to the friends of morality and religion.

When Dr. Nelson was persecuted with abuse, outrage, and violence for his abolition sentiments, and he himself was censured and threatened for the freedom with which he exposed error and condemned vice, and bore testimony against American oppression, Mr. Lovejoy came out in a very able, patriotic, and Christian defence of the right of free discussion. He took his stand upon the Constitution and upon the Bible, that ancient charter of human liberty, and pledged himself to sustain the freedom of speech and of the press at every hazard. It was a noble production, breathing the spirit of '76, and worthy the days of martyrdom.

When a slave was burned to death near St. Louis, by Lynch law, and Judge Lawless published his infamous and *lawless* charge to the grand jury, Mr. Lovejoy raised the note of remonstrance, and rebuked the savage outrage. For this he was banished from the State. He then located his press in Alton, Illinois, a free State. The persecuting, diabolical spirit of slavery, however, did not leave him unmolested when he had left the domain of bonds and blood. It still pursued him with unrelenting virulence and malignity, and soon became rampant in Alton.

About this time, July, 1837, Mr. Lovejoy became thoroughly convinced of the truth and importance of the abolition doctrines, and, at the request of several respectable and influential individuals, made a public declaration of his views, an extract from which we beg leave to introduce in this place.

Anti-Slavery Principles of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, published in the Alton Observer of July 20th, 1837, for maintaining which he was murdered !

WHAT ARE THE DOCTRINES OF ANTI-SLAVERY MEN? A young man had become exceedingly angry with an ancient philosopher, and had raised his cane to strike him. "Strike," said the philosopher—"strike, but hear me." He listened, and was convinced. There is not, probably, an individual, who reads this, who cannot recollect some instance in his life, in which his strong opposition to certain measures and principles, he now sees, was entirely owing to groundless and unreasonable prejudices; and he is a fortunate man who can recollect but one such instance.

In respect to the subject now to be discussed, the writer frankly confesses no one of his readers can possibly be more prejudiced, or more hostile to anti-slavery measures or men, than he once was. And his, too, were honest, though, alas! how mistaken, prejudices. They arose partly from the fact that the "new measures" came directly in contact with his former habits of thought and action, and partly, and chiefly, from the strange and astonishingly perverted representations given of leading men and their principles, in this new movement. We recollect no instance of parallel misrepresentation, except the charge brought against Christ of casting out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils. These misrepre-

sentations were started by a few, and honestly believed by the many.—They still prevail to a very great extent. Very probably some of our readers may be under their influence more or less. We ask them to be candid with themselves, and if they find this to be the case, to make an effort to throw them off, and come to the perusal of what follows, ready to embrace the truth wherever it is found. For truth is eternal, unchanging, though circumstances may and do operate to give a different color to it, in our view, at different times. And truth will prevail, and those who do not yield to it must be destroyed by it. What then are the doctrines of Anti-Slavery men?

First Principles.

1. Abolitionists hold that “all men are born free and equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.” They do not believe that these rights are abrogated, or at all modified by the colour of the skin, but that they extend alike to every individual of the human family.

2. As the above mentioned rights are in their nature inalienable, it is not possible that one man can convert another into a piece of property, thus at once annihilating all his personal rights, without the most flagrant injustice and usurpation. But American slavery does this—it declares a slave to be a “THING,” a “CHATTEL,” an article of personal “PROPERTY,” a piece of “MERCHANDISE,” and now actually holds TWO AND A HALF MILLIONS of our fellow-men in this precise condition.

3. Abolitionists, therefore, hold American Slavery to be a *wrong*, a legalized system of inconceivable injustice, and a *sin*. That it is a sin against God, whose prerogative as the rightful owner of all human beings is usurped, and against the slave himself, who is deprived of the power to dispose of his service as conscience may dictate, or his Maker requires. And whatever is morally wrong can never be politically right, and as the Bible teaches, and as abolitionists believe, that “righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people,” they also hold that slavery is a political evil of unspeakable magnitude, and one which, if not removed, will speedily work the downfall of our free institutions, both civil and religious.

4. As the Bible inculcates upon man but one duty in respect to sin, and that is, immediate repentance, abolitionists believe that all who hold slaves, or who approve the practice in others, should *immediately* cease to do so.

5. Lastly. Abolitionists believe, that as all men are born free, so all who are now held as slaves in this country were BORN FREE, and that they are slaves now is the sin, not of those who introduced the race into this country, but of those, and those alone, who now hold them, and have held them in slavery from their birth. Let it be admitted, for argument's sake, that A. or B. has justly forfeited his title to freedom, and that he is now the rightful slave of C., bought with his money, how does this give C. a claim to the posterity of A. down to the latest generation? And does not the guilt of enslaving the successive generations of A's posterity belong to their respective masters, whoever they be? Nowhere are the true principles of freedom and personal rights better understood than at the South, though their practice corresponds so wretchedly with their theory. Abolitionists adopt, as their own, the following sentiments expressed by Mr Calhoun in a speech on the tariff question, delivered in the Senate of the United States, in 1833 :—“He who *earns* the money—who *digs it out of the earth* with the sweat of his brow, has a *just title* to it against the Universe. No one has a right to touch it *without his consent*, except his government, and *it only* to the extent of its legitimate wants : to take more is *robbery*.” Now this is precisely what slaveholders do, and abolitionists do but echo back their own language when they pronounce it “*robbery*.”

Emancipation—what is meant by it?

Simply, that the slaves shall cease to be held as *property*, and shall

henceforth be held and treated as human beings. Simply that we should take our feet from off their necks. Perhaps we cannot express ourselves better than to quote the language of another southerner. In reply to the question what is meant by emancipation, the answer is—

"1. It is to reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold *property* in man. 2. To pay the laborer his hire, for he is worthy of it. 3. No longer to deny him the right of marriage, but to 'let every man have his own wife,' as saith the apostle. 4. To let parents have their own children, for they are the gift of the Lord to them, and no one else has a right to them. 5. No longer to withhold the advantages of education and the privilege of reading the Bible. 6. To put the slave under the protection of law, instead of throwing him beyond its salutary influence."

Now, who is there that is opposed to slavery at all, and believes it to be wrong and a sin, but will agree to all this?

How and by whom is emancipation to be effected?

To this question the answer is, by the *masters themselves*, and by no others. No others can effect it, nor is it desirable that they should, even if they could. Emancipation, to be of any value to the slave, must be the free, voluntary act of the master, performed from a conviction of its propriety. This avowal may sound very strange to those who have been in the habit of taking the principles of the abolitionists from the misrepresentations of their opponents. Yet this is, and always has been, the cardinal principle of abolitionists. If it be asked, then, why they intermeddle in a matter where they can confessedly do nothing themselves, in achieving the desired result, their reply is, that this is the very reason why they do and ought to intermeddle. It is because they cannot emancipate the slaves that they call upon those who can do it. Could they themselves do it, there would be no need of discussion—instead of discussing they would act, and with their present views the work would soon be accomplished.

Who are they that hold Temperance meetings, form Temperance Societies, sustain and edit and circulate Temperance "Intelligencers" and "Heralds"? Are they the men who own distilleries, or who sell or drink ardent spirits by the wholesale or retail? Directly the reverse. They are men who have been convinced of the evil and the sin of such practices, and having quit them, themselves, are now endeavoring to persuade their neighbors to do the same thing. For what purpose are the very efficient Executive Committee of the Illinois State Temperance Society now publishing their "Herald," and endeavoring to send it into every family of the state? Avowedly for the purpose of shutting up every distillery and dram shop in the state. The object is a noble one, and we bid them God speed; but how do they propose to accomplish it? By doing violence, or exciting an angry community to do violence, to the persons or property of their fellow citizens? By no manner of means. They would not, if they could, shut up a single grog shop belonging to their neighbors—and in this thing, all the inhabitants of the state, yea, of the world, are their neighbors—but they wish, and are determined, if light, and love, and argument, and fact, and demonstration can effect it, to persuade all to abandon a business so detrimental to all concerned in it and to the community at large. Now this is precisely the ground occupied by abolitionists in relation to slavery. And let it be remembered that the objection of interfering in the business of others applies with equal force to the one as to the other. Should the friends of Temperance succeed, they will deprive many a man of what is now a very profitable business, and so will the abolitionists. But in both cases the result will be achieved with the hearty and glad acquiescence of those more immediately concerned, and a great common good will be effected, infinitely overbalancing the partial evil, if evil it may be called to deprive a man of the profits arising from rum selling or slave trading.

But, in the second place, as to the *particular mode* of effecting emanci-

pation. This, too, belongs to the master to decide. When we tell a distiller or a vender of ardent spirits, that duty requires him to forsake his present business, we go no further. It belongs not to the preacher of Temperance to dictate to them, what particular use they shall make of those materials now so improperly employed. He may do anything, convert his buildings and appurtenances to any use, so that it be a lawful one. Yet advice might, perhaps, be kindly given and profitably listened to.—We can tell the slaveholder what he may do with his slaves after emancipation, so as to do them justice and at the same time lose nothing himself. Employ them as free laborers, pay them their stipulated wages, and the results of the West India emancipation have afforded to us the means of assuring him that he will derive more clear profit from their labor as freemen than as slaves. Did the abolitionists propose to remove the slave population from the country, the free inhabitants of the South might justly complain; for that would soon render their country a barren and uncultivated waste. But they aim at no such thing; nor yet would they encourage or allow the emancipated slaves to roam about the country as idle vagabonds; they would say to them, as to others, "They that will not work, neither shall they eat," and let the regulation be enforced with all proper sanctions. Only, when they work, let them be paid for it.

The above exposition of anti slavery principles has been made at the request of a number of our respectable citizens. In preparing it, we have felt deeply our responsibility, and have trembled lest through any inadvertence of language we should make ourselves liable to be misunderstood, and thus repel the minds of those we wish to gain. In the correctness of these principles we have the most unshaken confidence, and that they finally will be properly understood and most universally adopted by our countrymen, we have no more doubt than we have that Washington lived and Warren died to secure the blessings of civil and religious liberty. That they have met with such determined opposition, and brought upon their prominent supporters such extreme manifestations of popular hatred, is partly and chiefly owing to the fact that they have been strangely misapprehended, and partly that in their practical application in this country, they strike, or are supposed to strike, at self-interests of great magnitude.

The above are the sentiments of the great and good of every age.—They were the sentiments of Washington, Lafayette, Hancock and Adams. They brought our pilgrim fathers from the homes and fire-sides of old England to this country, then an unknown land, and a waste howling wilderness. They sustained them to endure toils, and hardships and privations, until they made the "wilderness to rejoice and blossom as the rose." And now shall their children forsake these principles, and attempt to roll back the wheels of that reformation on whose banner is inscribed the LIBERTY AND EQUALITY OF THE HUMAN RACE, and which dispenses in its train alike to all, the blessings of peace, of harmony, and the unmolested rights of conscience? No, they will not, they dare not.

These principles, then, are eternal and immutable, for they are established by God himself, and whoever would destroy them, must first reach up to heaven and dethrone the Almighty. Sin had well nigh banished them from the earth, when the son of God came down to re-assert them, and died to sanction them. They are summed up, perfectly, in the language by which the angels announced the object of the Redeemer's mission—"GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN."

It might have been supposed that the above able, and convincing vindication of his abolition views would have disarmed his enemies, and procured for him, at least, toleration in the exercise of his constitutional rights. But no; there was no abatement of hostility on the part of his enemies. Three several times were

his press and office destroyed, before the fatal catastrophe ; and three times were they replaced by the friends of liberty and law.

In the mean time, his life was threatened and his person assaulted at St. Charles, furiously assaulted by a band of ruffians, and but for the resolute interference and devotion of his beloved wife, even then, it seems, he had become the victim of their lawless violence.

Mr. Lovejoy viewed the danger with which he was surrounded with the utmost calmness and composure. His confidence was in God, and like a true Christian Apostle, he stood erect amidst the trials which beset him, being conscious of the approbation of Heaven. He seems to have felt a presentiment that he should fall by the hands of his enemies, and he deliberately made up his mind to meet the event. Great principles were in jeopardy ; principles dear as life to every Christian and every true patriot, and worthy of the self-devotion which put his life in jeopardy.

How devout, how perfectly resigned he was, how entirely prepared to meet whatever might be the will of God concerning him, you may see by the following extract from a letter written by him to the Editor of the Emancipator, as the dangers of his condition were thickening around him.

"And now, my dear brother, if you ask what are my own feelings at a time like this, I answer, perfectly calm, perfectly resigned. Though in the midst of danger, I have a constant sense of security that keeps me alike from fear or anxiety. "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee." This promise I feel has been literally fulfilled unto me. I read the promises of the Bible, and especially the Psalms, with a delight, a refreshing of the soul, I never knew before. Some persons here call me courageous, and others pronounce me stubborn ; but I feel and know that I am neither the one nor the other. That I am enabled to continue firm in the midst of my trials, is all of God. Let no one give me any credit for it. I disclaim it. I should feel that I were robbing Him, if even in thought, I should claim the least share to myself. He has said, "As thy day is, so shall thy strength be," and he has made his promise good. To him be all the praise. Pray for me.

We have a few excellent brethren here in Alton. They are sincerely desirous to know their duty in this crisis, and to do it. But as yet they cannot see that duty requires them to maintain their cause here at all hazards. Our Convention meets the last Thursday of this month. And of this be assured, the cause of truth still lives in Illinois, and will not want defenders. Whether our paper starts again will depend on our friends, East, West, North and South. So far as depends on me it shall go. By the blessing of God, I will never abandon the enterprise so long as I live, and until success has crowned it. And there are those in Illinois who join me in this sentiment. And if I am to die it cannot be in a better cause."

Such was the devout feeling, the unwavering constancy of our fallen brother. And are there not a thousand hearts in every part of our land ready to respond to the noble, Christian sentiment of this martyred servant of God — "IF I AM TO DIE, IT CANNOT BE IN A BETTER CAUSE." For who would live, if we may not utter our honest sentiment but at the peril of our lives ? What Christian, what patriot would outlive free discussion, the rights of

conscience, and the privilege of pleading for suffering humanity? It would be in vain that our fathers toiled, it would be in vain that our fathers bled, if we, their offspring, at the bidding of a mercenary, reckless despotism, should abandon this dear bought inheritance. Let our harvest be blighted with mildew and our herd be cut off from the stall, let our rivers become dry and our green fields be withered with drought, let famine and pestilence dry up our sources of comfort and waste our population, but let it never be told that the descendants of the pilgrims have surrendered the right to express and publish their conscientious opinions. Be that event far from us.

At a public pro-slavery meeting on the 2d, or perhaps the 3d of November, got up ostensibly for the purpose of allaying excitement, but really with the design of crushing the liberty of the press by overawing its friends or ultimately by force, Mr. Lovejoy made a most able, eloquent, and pathetic defence in language like the following :

"He proceeded to the desk in front of the audience, laid aside his overcoat, and in the most calm and deliberate manner, addressed the meeting. He repelled, in a spirit of meekness, several charges and insinuations that had been hurled at him. He said it was not true that he held in contempt the feelings and sentiments of this community in reference to the great question which was agitating it. He respected and appreciated the feelings of his fellow citizens, and it was one of the most painful and unpleasant duties of his life, that he was called upon to differ from them. If they supposed he had published sentiments contrary to those generally held in this community, because he delighted in differing from them, or in occasioning a disturbance, they had entirely misapprehended him. But although he valued the good opinion of his fellow citizens as highly as any man could, yet he was governed by higher considerations than either the favor or fear of man. He was impelled to the course he had taken, because he feared God. As he should answer to God in the great day, he *dare not* abandon his sentiments, or cease in every proper way to propagate them.

He told the meeting he had not asked or desired any compromise. He had asked for nothing but to be protected in his rights as a citizen, rights which God had given him, and which were guaranteed to him by the constitution of his country. He asked, "What infraction of the laws have I been guilty of? Whose good name have I injured? When and where have I published any thing injurious to the reputation of Alton? Have I not on the contrary, labored in common with the rest of my fellow citizens, to promote the reputation and interest of Alton? What has been my offence? Put your finger upon it. Define it, and I stand ready to answer for it. If I have been guilty, you can easily correct me. You have public sentiment in your favor. You have your juries, and you have your Attorney, (looking at the Attorney General) and I have no doubt you can correct me. But if I have been guilty of no violation of the laws, why am I hunted up and down continually, as a partridge upon the mountains? Why am I threatened with the tar barrel? Why am I waylaid in the day, and from night to night, and my life in jeopardy every hour?" He told them they had made up a false issue, as the lawyers say; there were not two parties in the matter, between whom there could be a compromise. He planted himself down upon his unquestionable rights, and the question to be decided was, whether he should be protected in the exercise and enjoyment of those rights. *That is the question.* Whether my property shall be protected; whether I shall be suffered to go home to my family at night, without being assailed and threatened with tar and

feathers, and assassination ; whether my afflicted wife, whose life has been in jeopardy from continued alarms and excitements, shall night after night be driven from a sick bed into the garret, to save her life from the brickbats and violence of the mob ; *that, sir, is the question !*" Here his feelings overcame him, and he burst into tears. Many others in the room also wept, several sobbed aloud, and I thought for a time, that the sympathies of the meeting were so much excited that there would be a reaction in his favor. He apologized for having betrayed any weakness on the occasion. It was the allusion, he said, to his family, that overcame his feelings. He assured them it was not from any fears on his part. He had no personal fears, not that he felt able to contest this matter with the whole community. He knew perfectly well that he was not. But where should he go ? He had been made to feel that if he was not safe in Alton, he would not be safe any where. He had recently visited St. Charles for his family, and was torn away from their embrace by a mob. He had been beset night and day in Alton. Now, if he should leave Alton, and go elsewhere, violence might overtake him in his retreat, and he had no more claim for protection upon any other community, than he had upon this. He had finally come to the determination, after having consulted his friends, and earnestly sought counsel of God, to remain in Alton, and here to insist upon protection in the exercise of his rights. If the civil authorities refused to protect him, he must look to God for protection ;—and if he very soon found a grave in Alton, he was sure he should die in the exercise of his duty.

The above is a very meagre outline, which I sketch from memory, not having taken any notes at the time. His *manner* : but I cannot attempt to describe it. He was calm and serious ; but firm and decided. Not an epithet or unkind allusion escaped his lips, notwithstanding he knew he was in the midst of those who were seeking his blood, and notwithstanding he was well aware of the influence that that meeting, if it should not take the right turn, would have in infuriating the mob to do their work. He and his friends had prayed earnestly that God would overrule the deliberations of that meeting for good. He had been all day communing with God. His countenance, the subdued tones of his voice, and whole appearance indicated a mind in a peculiarly heavenly frame, and ready to acquiesce in the will of God, whatever that might be. I confess to you, sir, that I regarded him at the time, in view of all the circumstances, as presenting a spectacle of moral sublimity, such as I had never before witnessed, and such as the world seldom affords. It reminded me of Paul before Festus, and of Luther at Worms."

Upon the awful tragedy, the eventful catastrophe that followed on the night of the 7th of November, I need not dwell. Suffice it to say, that the 7th of November, 1837, will hereafter be as memorable upon the page of our future history as the 5th of March, 1770, or the 19th of April, 1775. It shall bear the same relation to the present moral conflict in behalf of human rights, that did that day to the struggles of our fathers. There and on that day, will it be recorded, was spilt the first blood in the holy cause of abolition.

That blood cries and will cry for righteous retribution. That blood will fix a stain upon the American name and upon American institutions, and especially upon the disgraced City where the proto-martyr fell, which the Father of waters, if he should roll on a thousand years, would not be able to wipe out. That blood will wake up the nation. That blood will seal the death warrant of American oppression. That blood will be the watchword in the future progress of emancipation. The blood of Lovejoy crieth, and shall it not be heard ?

I ask you, my hearers, to contemplate this tragical event, as the future and impartial historian shall contemplate it. Let it be recollected, that he contended for the right of free discussion, and in consequence, his press and life were exposed. He cast himself upon the civil authorities, but they refused him protection. His press was destroyed, but there was no disposition "in the powers that be" to repair his loss. He called, however, upon the friends of liberty, and they rallied to his help and replaced his press. But again and again was that glorious engine of freedom destroyed. "He rose in the high purpose of a man, a patriot, and a Christian, and resolved on liberty or death."

In the hour of his peril, his affectionate wife, like a guardian angel, hovered over him and repelled the assaults of his foes with her own hand. Noble woman! Devoted wife! Her magnanimous spirit and the intense energy of her love, made her fearless. Let her name stand high on the list of Christian heroines, for she is worthy.

Amidst all these dangers and dissuasives, Lovejoy quailed not, neither turned back from his noble purpose. His heart was fixed, trusting in God. At length the crisis came. The press arrived. It was known that there would be violence. The city authorities knew it, but refused to act. A few of the friends of liberty and law, however, with himself, collected in the building belonging to one of them, where the press was, and acting under the authority, and by the instructions of the Mayor of the city, determined to defend it. They had a right to defend it. It was their home, their castle. And they were noble, generous hearts.

Then came on that dreadful night-scene, the rallying of the mob from the coffee-houses, and tipling-shops, and all the hell-holes of Alton, with horrid curses, and howlings, and yells. You may imagine the infernal world disgorging her frightful progeny, and the master spirits of hell, with bloody intent, hurrying to the scene of action.

They plant themselves before the devoted edifice. Forthwith volleys of stones and other missiles are hurled through the windows and doors. But not satisfied with this mode of attack, their assailants soon levelled upon them with fire-arms. The balls whistled through the building, but no one was hurt. The firing without was returned from within. Presently the hoarse, rough cry is heard, "set the building a fire, set the building a fire! Burn them out, burn them out, and shoot the d—d abolitionists as they go," with curses and yells that rent the air. To prevent the firing of the building, Lovejoy ventured out, and soon fell pierced with three buck shot. It was announced to those without that Lovejoy was dead. And another hideous shout was raised, as if it were an echo from hell.

Those who remained in the building made their escape as well as they could, being fired upon as they went by the perjured rabble. But the contemplation of this tragical scene, is sickening, frightful, horrifying. I cannot dwell upon it.

REFLECTIONS.

1. Are those who were in the building to be justified in resorting to fire-arms for self-defence?

While as peace men we cannot forbear to express our regret that fire-arms were used, we will state some facts in the case, and leave yourselves to judge.

1. In using fire-arms, they acted under the authority and by the instructions of the Mayor, and were thus, in a sense, obeying the executive authority and "the powers that be."

2. They were acting in self-defence, being in their own house, their own castle, which it is lawful always to defend to the last extremity.

3. Being aware of the eventful crisis, they committed themselves to God in prayer.

4. They agreed not to, and *did* not fire, until they were fired upon.

5. They could have killed fifty as well as one of their assailants, but they did not wish to shed human blood.

Look now at these facts grouped together, and then judge. We are aware that it is easy, now after the affair is past, to stand at a distance and discover occasions for administering censure. It is an old Spanish proverb, that, "after the ship is sunk, all the sailors can tell how she might have been saved." But who is there among us, that, being thrown into the midst of this fearful conflict, and being obliged to bear its amazing responsibilities, would have acted more in accordance with the principles of eternal rectitude and righteousness, than did our lamented brother.

Suffice it to say, these defenders of liberty were amply justified by the declaration of independence, and the example of our revolutionary fathers. Of course, it is gross hypocrisy, betraying the basest malignity, for those who subscribe to that declaration and applaud those patriots, "to affect to be shocked at the spirited manner in which Mr. Lovejoy was defended."

2. But it is said, that Mr. Lovejoy was imprudent, obstinate, that he knew the consequence, that he courted his own fate, that if he had yielded his rights to the majority, the catastrophe might have been avoided.

Imprudent, obstinate then, it seems, because he proceeded steadily and fearlessly in the discharge of his duty, unflinchingly asserting his own rights and maintaining principles which involve the rights of all men; principles, as you have just heard, "for which a Washington lived and a Warren died." We aver that in asserting and maintaining the right of speech, no perseverance is obstinacy and no sacrifice too dear; and prophets and apostles have accounted it so, and poured out their life-blood as free as water in its defence.

Imprudent! obstinate! Ha! thou traitor to your country's liberty; thou hypocritical pretender to Christianity! as well might you charge the holy Daniel, of sacred memory, with obstinacy, because he *would* maintain the rights of conscience and worship

plate its principles and measures. You have just heard them as from the dead. What objection have you, can you have to them? Do they not commend themselves irresistibly to your consciences?

And then, how benevolent, how philanthropic, how patriotic its object. It proposes the deliverance of two millions of long neglected captives, and in their deliverance, the salvation of our country. And though thus worthy of all commendation and all co-operation, you behold it unaided and unprotected, struggling against legislative sanction and popular violence, against "principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places." The friends of the helpless slave, amidst persecution the most fierce, are laying down their lives for his disenthralment and elevation. Does not the whole present a sublime moral spectacle?

The Missionary enterprise is justly regarded as one of great moral sublimity. But it fails altogether in the comparison, whether we consider their respective objects, or the moral courage required in their prosecution. For it requires vastly more moral heroism, in these times of apostacy and persecution, to be an abolitionist than it does to be a Missionary.

8. Brethren, allow me to suggest another thing, and let it not seem to you as idle imagining.

Innocent blood, as you see, has been shed, and the vengeance of heaven, red with uncommon wrath, will assuredly be poured, soon and in some form, upon this guilty land, unless speedy and deep repentance prevent. I wish I could adequately impress your minds with the fearful consideration. Was the blood of holy prophets or ministers of Jesus Christ ever yet shed without being visited by a righteous retribution?

What occasion then have we to tremble, and to pray that timely repentance may avert the impending judgments of God. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of a provoked and incensed God.

9. Brethren, I have two, yea, three requests to make, and I have done.

I request the wives and mothers in this assembly to remember, in their prayers, that companionless and disconsolate woman who has been robbed of her husband by savage ruffians, and whose children are now left fatherless. Read, I beseech you, the account of her dreadful trials, her generous heroism in defence of her husband, because she loved him; and think of her now, (if she be yet alive,) desolate, forlorn, her heart wrung with inexpressible anguish, even to derangement, her hopes, her happiness, her life in the dear object of her affections, all, all cloven down at once in that fatal night. O, God have mercy, have mercy upon her.

But I have another thing to ask. In the language of the Mass. Society, I ask, I invoke "the ministers of the Gospel in our land, without distinction of denomination, to bring the dead body of the Alton martyr into their meeting houses, all gory in its blood, and lay it down before all the people, that they may look upon

it and be filled with indignation and horror ;” and ministers and people together, over the corpse of this fallen brother, renew, solemnly renew their vows of eternal fealty and fidelity to that blessed cause of God and of human rights, in defence of which he bled. Now, when one of our own brotherhood has been sacrificed to the demon of slavery, the pulpit that does not speak out and utter its unqualified condemnation of such deeds of despotism and blood, and expose the iniquity and guilt of that horrid system of oppression in which they originate, must henceforth be accounted recreant to its high trust, as betraying the truth and honor of God and the dearest and best interests of men.

Brethren, I have one last request. It is that you identify yourselves with the antislavery enterprise, now consecrated and baptized with blood, that, in the fear of God, you commit yourselves to its claims. You have heard our principles to night from one who sealed them with his blood. You know that they are the principles of eternal truth ; and you cannot but feel the conviction, that we are right ; that our cause is the cause of God and must prevail.

Yes, brethren, our confidence is in One who is mighty to save, Who redeemed Israel with a strong hand and an outstretched arm, and sunk Pharaoh and his hosts in the depths of the sea ; “for his mercy endureth forever,” and who is pledged “to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the spoiler.”

We beseech you then, rally round this benevolent, holy enterprise. There is no neutral ground upon which you can stand. He that is not for us is against us. As you then value your country’s freedom, the rights of conscience and protection from the violence of midnight ruffians ; as you regard the claims of suffering humanity in the persons of your oppressed countrymen, or respect the blood of your martyred brother, who suffered not for himself, but for us, in defence of principles dear as life to us all ; as you would save *yourselves* from bondage and your land from the judgments of heaven ; above all, as you would obey God and secure his favor, we entreat you, identify yourselves with this persecuted people who are laboring to establish justice and redeem the captives.

Brethren, our brother has fallen, nobly fallen. His career was short, but splendid, glorious, triumphant. He accomplished much in a little time, and was soon summoned to his reward. His joyous spirit now mingles with all the martyred throng before the throne of God, “who have come out of great tribulation and washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.”

God grant that we may imitate his unbending integrity, his unreserved devotion to truth and righteousness, his fellow feeling for the suffering and the dumb, his unblinking confidence in God, his christian heroism in witnessing a good confession. And that his bereaved widow and fatherless children may share richly in the blessings of the God of the widow and fatherless, is the earnest prayer of him who is permitted to address you on this mournful and most affecting occasion—AMEN.